1: Gusinde--28 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SIH Yahgan SH6

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to learn about their unusual habits of sleep and work (Vol. I, 281).

513 What we have said about the unusual habits of sleep among the Yamana applies to both adults and children. No one rests on a comfortable bed or in a safe, quiet spot. If the ground is only more or less dry, a tired person will lie down for a nap anywhere and at any time. Our Indian, however, never sleeps sitting down or squatting (36). He must be lying down, even if he has so little

36. Spegazzini (a) :171 maintains the opposite, but he is mistaken.

space, for instance, in a canoe, that he can only curl up in a very cramped position. A person rarely sleeps with his head somewhat elevated, but if he does, he needs only a short tree stump or a stone, or even a large lump of meat that he will roast for himself the next morning. Since the sleepers generally do not stretch out -- because they would then lack adequate cover -- and since they crowd as closely together as though they were penned up, the small hut provides room at night for very many living beings (37). The

37. Hyades (f) :560 emphasizes this: "They are so accustomed to shrinking their bodies into as little space as possible that a small hide suffices to cover them completely when they are squatting" /translated from French/.

places in the hut are not all the same, however, since some persons are lying dry and protected, while others are more exposed to the wetness of the ground, the heat of the fire, or the disagreeable coolness of the night (38).

38. Hyades (g) :343 concludes: "As many as 20, and sometimes more, squat or lie there, veritably forming a heap of flesh around the central hearth" /translated from French/.

• 356 The Yamana by nature have little understanding and feeling for the most important requirements of general cleanliness. Their

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huts present a picture of utter confusio. They own but few objects, and these they are always dragg about with them. They have no idea of how to take care of them. Often these insignificant possessions are left out in the rain and snow, lie in dirt and mud, are lost by the dogs, or damaged by fire and smoke. Inside the hut small baskets and pieces of ski, tools and implements, weapons and ornamental objects are thrown about hither and yon; there is no thought of handling them gently or taking care of them. /385/ True, the single small hut serves many purposes. Not only the members of the family, but the dogs and all the possessions are housed in the same crowded space. Under such conditions how can order and cleanliness thrive and be maintained!

Small children are almost never absent, and in their lack of judgment they cause a lot of confusion and take care of their natural requirements inside the hut. Dogs rummage around the sleeping places and among the things that have been carelessly tossed about. Everyone usually eats squatting beside the fire. Many of the scraps are immediately thrown into the fire, but not everything can be cleared away. Here and there are bits of meat and fat, crushed, raw mussels and crabs, remnants of sea birds and fish.

The considerable amount of blubber clinging to these things is transferred to the people themselves, who after their meals wipe their dripping hands either on the sides of their own bodies or on the sleeping place. There is a persistent heavy smell of blubber throughout the interior of the hut, on all the objects and people, to which a European naval grows accustomed. The moisture which penetrates everything quickly rots the vegetable matter used in the sleeping place, as well as the pieces of leather and skins which sometimes still need to be dressed. All this is mixed with the odor of the skin secretions of people and dogs. There is a disagreeable mixture of all kinds of fumes constantly rising in the small space. It increases from day to day, the longer the hut is used, and it is not affected by the ease with which fresh air blows through the loose structure. One cannot say that a really foul odor develops, but really, many heavy fumes fill the whole interior (38). On a sunny day the Indians sometimes loosen the hut

38. Only with reservations can we accept Hyades's (I) .607 statement of his experience

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/385 cont./
in this respect: "Thanks to the constant ventilation of the hut, the air in it remains pure in spite of the number of its occupants" /translated from French/.

cover and drag a few leather pieces out into the open -- proof that these people feel the need of an airing -- but this does not help much either (40).

40. Hyades (q) :344 says: "Some filth accumulates in the huts; the urine of the little children penetrates the ground, which is also impregnated with the refuse from eating, although the natives are in the habit of throwing outside the remains of what they have eaten, such as shells, the bones of fish and birds, etc." /translated from French/.

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342 A family finally remedies the situation by building a new hut a short distance away, if it is advisable to remain at the same place for a longer period of time because of an abundant supply of meat, for example, a stranded whale. Even though the site for the new hut is less advantageous -- because the ground is very wet or because storms can more easily beat down on it -- nevertheless, the occupants find it intolerable to remain longer at the previous site. /386/ "The sole reason is that the first hut is no longer as healthy as it was when they first lived in it" /translated from French/, so they say (Hyades [q] :344).

A change of dwelling is often necessary after about two weeks. Usually the Indians build an entirely new structure, but sometimes they use the frame poles of the previous one if these are hard to secure in any other way (41). The abandoned hut

41. Hyades (f) :538 observed, for example, that the Indians "tore down their dwelling in order to use the same material to build others not very far away" /translated from French/.

357 /386 cont./
342 meanwhile air out thoroughly, is completely cleaned by the rain, and after considerable time is again suitable as a temporary refuge. With this in mind they leave the first dwelling undamaged when they move out, and upon their return they need make only a few additions. Again, unreasoning nature helps where these Indians themselves are lacking in cleanliness. Even though the dwelling may be changed, certain circumstances may make it imperative to remain for a longer period in one place. When such circumstances are absent, every family unhesitatingly and at frequent intervals moves to complete a great distance.

342 Each individual family erects a dwelling exclusively for itself wherever it temporarily happens to be. Formerly, however, in the west an exception was made where a hut known as ayusukáh was built to be occupied by several families. The reason for this [187] was either the prophetic warning of a few yéhamuš who predicted a severe winter or the stranding of a whale at the beginning of the cold season. Three to six families who were related or friends joined in the building of this community hut. They chose a suitable spot near the stranded whale or near the swamp where they [251] preserved large pieces of fat in the water, in any case on dry ground and particularly well protected from wind and weather by a high rock. The men taking part in the construction of the dwelling, the customary dome-shaped hut, but elongated in this case, fetched suitable poles and built a stable, unusually strong framework.

They devoted great care to this work, which therefore occupied them all for perhaps half a day, whereas the ordinary dome-shaped hut took only two to three hours and the conical hut even less time. The length and width of this communal dwelling depended on the number of occupants, and the height of the interior was increased somewhat to prevent any discomfort that might be caused from the smoke of the larger fire. An unusually thick cover was laid on the firm framework, consisting of several alternate layers of tree bark and grass, rushes and twigs, with large, thick pieces of leather occasionally inserted between them. Thongs were stretched over large areas in order to /387/ secure the outer cover firmly. An entrance was left on each of the two narrow ends, and this was covered with a leather hanging. Both entrances were

/416 cont./

281 durably. They cut the edges approximately straight and lay them
284 side by side. Near the edges of the two pieces they make a small hole by pricking the leather with an awl or a pointed bone. Into this hole they thread a tendon fiber, ůwůmi, holding it with thumb and index finger and licking it to make it pointed. Then another little hole is bored, and the thread is drawn from one hole to the other over the free edges in a spiral. Finally, they pound the two edges, which are not quite flat, with a round stone to make them flat and less hard so that they will not rub unpleasantly. Such work is very coarse and uneven, for they lack convenient tools. They fasten strands of leather and straps together or tie them to other things simply by knotting them.

283 The fibers of tendon which we have just mentioned, known
287 as ůwůmi or ůnůna, are often used in sewing and joining pieces of leather. Strands of guanaco tendon are separated into fibers, but a person who does not have these uses the tendon fibers of otter or [IX] beaver (Myocastor coligus) tails. The beaver is rare here, however. After they have skinned the animal, they cut off the tail at the root. It is dried for some time, and the individual vertebrae are broken off without tearing the tendons. The last two or three vertebrae are left together. The tendons which have been loosened by this process are separated with the fingernails until they become thin enough to be used for sewing. They then hang like a tuft on the smallest vertebrae of the tail and can be torn off with a sharp tug.

C. Cleanliness and Body Ornamentation

58 Every stranger is repulsed by the unclean, unkempt appear-
●359 ance of the Yamana (91). It is disgusting to see these human

91. Among the opinions of former travelers I shall cite only what Snow (a) f. 345 has written: "They appeared to have no idea of cleanliness, for a dirtier set of individuals I have rarely met with; and I imagine they never attempt to wash themselves" /cited in English/.

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/416 cont./

beings, glistening with fat as though blubber had been poured over them, in the midst of the jumbled disorder of their effects inside their smoke-blackened, vapor-filled huts or crouching anxiously in their smelly canoes crammed with trash. Do they not have any feeling for the well-being that a cleansing bath gives a clean body, for the refreshment that follows a thorough wash, or for the natural necessity of a clean dwelling? Continuous privation dulls through habit!

Our Indians were obliged to adjust to the poverty and insufficiency of their /417/ environment where they lack material and equipment without which other peoples could not be comfortable. Their concern with the preservation of their lives so completely absorbs their attention, especially during canoe trips, that they dare not concentrate on sparing their body or their few possessions. In the huts, which are supposed to afford only slight shelter against the annoying influences of the weather for a single night or for a few days, it is not worth the effort to strive for a little coziness and comfort. Finally, the restlessness of a life of ceaseless wandering would not let them enjoy trying to keep clean. They are by no means completely lacking in any feeling for it, and it would be unjust to them to believe that they have become numb to dirt. As a matter of fact, they have developed a relatively rich amount of body decoration in the form of ornaments and simple body painting (91) that in no slight measure deceives

> 91. George Forster (b) :324 recognized the obvious contradiction: "It is strange that where clothing is so completely lacking they should be so concerned with ornaments and decoration. The Fuegian smears his face with red ochre."

one about their lack of cleanliness or its tendency. Even helpful Mother Nature advantageously compensates them for much that they themselves leave undone.

/424/ 1. Cleanliness in the Hut

362 With few and rare exceptions, the hut serves chiefly as
many protection for a night or for a few days against inclemen-
cies of the weather. Often it is erected by people who have
barely escaped a storm, who in all haste were obliged to collect
their few possessions from the canoe and, wet and shivering with
cold, seek shelter under an inadequate cover. The first concern
of everyone is to light the fire and keep it going in order to
warm himself thoroughly; later, in his weariness, he begins to
think of satisfying his hunger and seeking rest.

• 356 Everything that the Indian family has taken along in their
canoe is tossed under the hut covering in disorder. There it
remains, wet, crumpled, and topsy-turvy. If anyone needs
some item, the whole jumble is pulled out, which only increases
the confusion. They do not know how to take care of their be-
longings. No one dreams of putting them in order, folding them,
drying or cleaning them, hanging them up, or putting them in a
neat pile. If they are looking for some particular thing, they
rummage carelessly through the hodgepodge of trifles in the
little lodges. Larger objects that are piled in a heap in the hut
are dragged hither and yon with no regard for the damage that might
be done to them. The European observer has the impression that
these Indians place no value whatever on their utensils and that
they have completely forgotten the effort it took to make them.
Actually, no one clings to his few goods and chattels which, as it
is, are often and easily lost, but just as easily replaced. The
chief and practically the sole concern of everyone everywhere
is to preserve his own life, to have a little protection against ex-
posure to the elements, and to appease his hunger. In the face of
this, protective care of material possessions is pushed far into the
background. The Indian does not even exercise care when he
could very conveniently do so.

A European is likely to shake his head at the boundless in-
difference of these people who drag brand-new objects, precious
clothing, fresh provisions, and valuable items through thick mud,
or abandon them to their swift destruction by children and dogs.
One will never succeed in luring these Indians out of their easy

/424 cont./

• 356 of indifference toward even their meager possessions and to teach them at least a modicum of care in regard to the things they need. At present some families have built themselves simple little houses in Puerto Mejillones and partly furnished them with European furniture (p. 367 /untranslated/), but they do not worry about leaving all this for months and are hardly aware of heavy losses. Expensive things that are given them are treasured for a few hours, out of curiosity; after that they thoughtlessly let everything deteriorate in the mud and wet. The less they own, the more /425/ comfortably they can travel, and what is ruined they occasionally replace. Hence they are completely indifferent to any material possession.

Nevertheless they do not neglect themselves to the extent of perishing in dirt and disorder. They are consciously concerned with necessary cleanliness. They never build their huts in places that are malodorous and swampy, or where a large animal carcass is decaying. They do not tolerate the smell of decaying animals. Hence they immediately throw into the fire all waste from their meals and the remnants of skins or leather pieces that they are working on. Small animals and pieces of meat [251] obtained by hunting are hung on branches outside the hut where they are protected from the dogs and from the uneven heat of the fire. They promptly remove meat that is decaying or that smells musty; they are extremely annoyed by its stench. On the other hand, the heavy, nauseous fumes of blubber and sea animals that fill their hut and deter every European do not seem to affect them, nor are they sensitive to the putrid odors issuing from the long piles of algae and seaweed, sea animals, and shells that the agitated ocean tosses ashore in tangled disorder and that are subsequently exposed to the hot rays of the sun. If a man has been successful on the hunt, he sometimes brings the slain animal to the hut intact, but he removes the entrails some distance away. The women, for their part, go down to the edge of the water where they pluck birds and eviscerate them, so that the waves can carry off the refuse. The litter for the bed is renewed after a few days, for the dampness of the earth promotes mold and rot. On sunny days they even pull down the large leather pieces from the hut framework, so that the interior will dry out and air. If they stay in one place for any length of time, they

/425 cont./

356 move the hut to another spot after a certain time, for despite all care, a great deal of refuse accumulates, which has harmful effects (p. 39).

514 The Indians display extraordinary disgust for animal and human filth. Personally they are remarkably fastidious in their natural functions. Everyone goes a few steps away from the hut to urinate; they go farther away when they defecate (103).

> 103. Only once, in Decker (p. 53 /untranslated/), we find the remark: "If someone needs to urinate, he does so on the body of another who is nearby, if that person does not get out of the way." This statement is not reliable.

They do not talk about these things. Anyone who must leave the hut to take care of a natural urge rises silently from his place and betakes himself into the woods or behind a sand dune. Two persons would never go together; rather, everyone goes his own way and keeps at some distance from the other. One never finds human filth near the hut. The children are taught from their earliest childhood to take care of their needs far away from the hut. Even dogs are trained to do this. The filth of young animals and infants which sometimes /425/ cannot be avoided inside a hut is quickly covered with sand or earth and pushed far away with a stick. Every mother is careful to take her infant a good distance from the hut in time and to clean the child outside. Even at night a person who feels the need leaves the hut and goes at least a few steps away from it.

514 Hyades (p.)342 confirms this conduct of the Yamana from his own observation: "The Fuegians have a rule about not soiling the hut with their evacuations. During the night, for example, urination always takes place outside the entrance opening, and defecation takes place, as in the daytime, quite far from the dwelling. If the night is clear, in case it is very dark, the natives satisfy their natural needs in the vicinity of the hut, but always outside" /translated from French/. No one would fail to clean himself well afterwards. Anyone returning to the hut with

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and down over their nostrils, afterwards they draw their hand through grass or moss. No one is offended by belching and breaking wind, the smacking of lips during eating, and gurgling /ŋŋ/ in drinking. Younger people, however, may not make flatulent noises in the presence of old people without noticeably offending them.

In the canoe, in contrast to a campsite on the beach, dirt and filth cannot accumulate, although the family uses it almost daily for their travels. Some water comes into the canoe on all sides, and it is open to rain and snow; hence the whole interior is often rinsed out. True, small remnants of leather and the remains of animals obtained by hunting, food scraps, and shells lie about and produce a noticeable stench, but the salt water prevents faster decomposition. It never occurs to the Indian to clean his canoe thoroughly, but the forces of nature are more than willing to do it. During the trip, everyone takes care of his natural needs overboard if he cannot wait until the landing. For good reasons the people in the canoe seldom eat and then only a little. They throw refuse into the fire, which is always kept going, or simply overboard.

5. Body Painting

We shall speak here only of those efforts of the Yamana which arise from their desire to adorn and beautify themselves. Their interest in rubbing their bodies with fish oil or a suitable kind of earth (p. 66) to protect themselves against the cold or against dirt serves another purpose. The most frequent and principal method of adornment is to paint the face and the whole body. Compared with this, objects for ornamentation are quite secondary (190). Moreover, all painting, whether it is

> 190. Lothrop (b).138 confirms this. "The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days" /cited in English/.

that of their own bodies or of an object, has a special meaning and a recognizable purpose.

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and offers him what he prefers. She roasts the larger pieces of meat in and beside the fire, bakes and cooks the fish and mussels, crabs, and birds' eggs in hot ashes. She also provides drinking water and fetches it herself if none of her daughters is free to do it. Everyone expects her to make the small pieces of jewelry, such as necklaces and anklets.

/KTS/ Her field of work is the hut. She takes part, together with her husband, even in its construction and repairs damaged places and sections that have been loosened by the wind. She devotes particular attention to the hut fire, guarding it day and night, regulating the radiation of heat and the towering flames, and seeing to it that the draft comes from the right direction and the smoke quickly drawn off. It is hard to believe how much attention and what numerous manipulations the hut fire demands if it is to benefit every member of the family and not annoy anyone. She prepares the sleeping place for everyone just as he wants it, and from time to time she renews the pallet. A good deal of refuse accumulates in the small living quarters, and the women see to it that this is promptly removed. She performs her many manual labors in the hut and in front of it, and she devotes herself tirelessly to the care of her children.

Her second field of activity is the canoe. It is the man's task to build it, but thereafter the care of this important means of transportation is entirely in her hands. She demands that the man make the repairs needed in the course of time, but she alone manages the canoe on the water and guards it on the beach (p.134). Before the family embarks, she gets the canoe ready so that everyone can comfortably pile in his things and easily climb in. She alone takes care of the paddling, which combines rowing and steering, and that is why she regularly takes her place at the stern end. She has previously come to an agreement with her husband as to the destination and the course. He gives her specific directions when he is on the trail of game. She anxiously guards the fire so that there is no danger to the bottom of the canoe, and she trains her children to keep it gently burning. To avoid capsizing, she sees to it that the occupants distribute themselves properly and that heavy pieces of game do not disturb the balance. She is always very conscious of the fact that on the water she alone is responsible for the boat and for her entire family.

/SHS cont./

into the ʔiʔaxan but for a short time, because they must not have any occasion for suspicion.

An individual does not help himself; the distribution is made by the kitchen women who bring in the food already prepared. Usually an older woman appears, accompanied by a younger one. The latter carries the pieces of meat or the mussels. The former stands in front of each person squatting in his place, reaches into the basket of the woman accompanying her, grasps with both hands whatever is to be distributed, and first moves it up and down, meanwhile uttering a low hõ hõ. Then the person takes the piece of meat or the mussel in his hands, moves it up and down in the same way, and repeats the soft hõ hõ. The kitchen women move along both rows of participants, give something to each one, and return to their hut next door (336).

336. Recently the kitchen women have used European food and prepare the meal in large buckets or metal containers. They serve the food with ladles and give each person his portion on a plate or in a bowl. Nowadays everyone who enters the Great Hut is provided with these implements; he therefore makes use of them when the occasion arises.

They do not personally serve the uwʔala but give the sponsors somewhat more, and they, in turn, let their protégés have a little. Everyone immediately eats what he has received and forthwith cleans his plate of scraps. He is content with what was given him; to ask for a second helping would be a regrettable example of lack of self-control. Actually, the adults, too, must always forgo full satisfaction.

4. Cleanliness. It is certainly noteworthy that our Yamana who, in general, show a limited sense of cleanliness are not guilty of offenses against it in the ʔiʔaxan hut. Everyone is painfully exact about removing all the food remains after the meal. Immediately after he gets up in the morning, he straightens out his sleeping-place and folds the covers that he does not need during the day. At least once a day all the

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X881 participants paint their bodies. Spots of color and everything in-
●356 dicating that such painting has been done are removed without delay. Anyone coming to the Great Hut finds no traces of painting nor any indication that eating is done here. The fire-area, too, is /915/ carefully kept in order and the ashes always scraped to the center again if a gust of wind or a strong movement has stirred them up (337).

> 337. Formerly the ashes were scraped together with a stick; today a broom is used and the floor swept, regardless of the thick clouds of dust stirred up. Often the ashes are simply heaped up with both hands.

These efforts at cleanliness are not applied to the body itself. Without doubt the participants become even dirtier in the Great Hut where they spend a long time. This offends no one.

X881 5. Body Ornamentation. Everyone, on the other hand, is
301 conscientiously concerned with whatever is demanded in the way
[179] of body ornamentation. In the modern period, however, this strict obligation has also been somewhat relaxed. Originally everyone in the čiéxaus hut wore the feather crown, hapaxél, even when no group singing or dancing was taking place. Although on these occasions adults nowadays tie this strip of skin with down-feathers around their foreheads, they take it off for comfort several hours of the day. This would never be permitted for the uswāla. The latter wear a hapaxél of the same shape and size as the one worn by adults (p. 713).

X881 According to the ancient rule, no one may sit in the Great
302 Hut without some kind of facial painting. In this matter, too,
[178] the people nowadays have become negligent, for they paint themselves for the most part in the evening only, just before the dances. A single red line as wide as a finger from the nostrils across the cheek to the ear lobe suffices, and it is very quickly applied. Soon after getting up, instead of washing themselves as we do, every adult draws this line on his face. If it should be rubbed off, as is unavoidable, it is easily renewed. This is the simplest form of facial painting. A person who feels like it will decorate

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

342 quently used toward the east, was tipi-form, with a framework of stiff stout saplings or tree trunks.

The ground in the interior of the hut was often, but not always, scooped out, to a depth of 2, 3, or more feet (0.6 to 1 m.) beneath the outside ground level, and was usually covered with a little grass or [354] some branches. The fire was made in the center. The huts had one door, facing the sea; or else two doors, one facing the sea, the other being opposite.

172 342 Archeological stratification in the *Yahgan* area of Navarino Island shows an earlier culture with shelters like those still used by the *Alacaluf*, oval in ground plan, having two entrances, and without scooped-out pits; and a later one with circular shelters having one entrance, and with pits 12 to 18 feet (4 to 6 m.) in diameter, scooped out in some cases to a depth of more than 3 feet (1 m.) (Bird, 1938, p. 261). The two historic types of *Yahgan* wigwam, oval and circular, unpitted and pitted, may thus represent two chronologically distinct cultures.

342 Larger and more substantial huts were built for initiation rites (q. v., infra); sometimes very small ones, for the use of children. The *Yahgan* also at times used caves or made a very rude shelter of a few branches tied together or stuck in the ground.

177 342 At the time of Lothrop's visit in 1924–25, practically all the then surviving *Yahgan* were accustomed to pass the winter months at Puerto Mejillones and Porto Piedra, on Navarino Island, in huts poorly constructed of ill-fitting boards (Lothrop, 1928, p. 168). Lothrop (1928, p. 131) considers the use of the wing of a large bird for [237] sweeping out the shelter to have probably been the result of missionary [356] influence.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The chief garment, for men and women, was a small cape, of seal, sea-otter, or fox skin, sometimes of two or more skins sewn together—occasionally of bird skins—worn with the fur outside, covering the shoulder and breast or reaching to the waist, and held in place by a string across the chest. It was commonly shifted outdoors over the windward shoulder. Very frequently it was left off entirely. The women rarely if ever went without a small triangular pubic covering of bird skin or hide, held in place by a string attached to each upper corner and encircling the waist (pl. 33, *f*). No head covering was worn. Usually the *Yahgan* went barefoot, but sometimes when traveling or hunting on land they wore rather crudely made moccasins (fig. 12), resembling closely the *Ona* ones in pattern, of sealskin, with the hair outside, and stuffed inside with grass (cf. Lothrop, 1928, p. 194, photo). The eastern *Yahgan*, when hunting guanaco in winter, sometimes wore guanaco skin leggings, like the *Ona*, from whom they